
THE
Re-Representation:
OR, A
Modest Search, &c.

THE
SOCIETY OF
MUSICIANS
OF
THE
CITY OF LONDON

THE
Re-Representation:

OR, A
Modest Search

After the Great

PLUNDERERS
OF THE
NATION:

BEING A

Brief Enquiry into Two weighty
Particulars, necessary at this Time
to be known.

- . Who they are that have plundered the Nation.
 - I. Why they are not detected and punished.
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L O N D O N,
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THE

Re-Representation:

OR, A

Model Search

After the Court

REPRESENTERS

OF THE

NATION:

BEING A

new and improved method of
representing the Nation
in the House of Commons
and in the Senate of the United States

as proposed by the
Committee on the
House of Representatives
in the year 1800

By JAMES M. SMITH,
of the House of Representatives

of the United States

A

Modest Search

After the Great

PLUNDERERS

OF THE

NATION, &c.

THEFT in Trading Nations is generally look'd upon as a greater Sin, than in other Countries. The *Dutch* are reported to be forwarder in punishing a Thief, than a Murtherer. If a Thief runs thro' the Streets of *Amsterdam*, every Man upon the first Cry runs out to stop him, and strives to knock him down: But if a Man commit Murther in the Street, the People will bid him *lope*, lest the Officers should lay hold of him.

Of all Thieving, that kind which they call *Plundering*, has something of a Stigma or Emphasis, which makes it particularly Odious ; the principal Thing which makes it so is, that it imports a violent robbing the Innocent, under Protection of Power, or of the Law: Hence the Excursion of Soldiers, whether Friends or Enemies, and the Ravages they commit upon the Country ; the Excesses of Mobs and Tumults, and the Fury of Armies, are called *Plunderings*. Aluding to these, all Sorts of protected Violence are not improperly call'd *Plunder* : When in the late persecuting Times, illegal and exorbitant Exactions were laid upon the People for not coming to Church, or for Trivial Offences ; We find them in publick, even in the House of Lords, call'd *plundering* Dissenters, and *plundering* the People.

When People entrusted by the Nation, either in receiving or distributing the publick Treasure, betray their Trust, and make use of the Power put into their Hands for the publick advantage, to the enriching or agrandizing themselves, at the Expence of the Publick ; breaking in upon their Trust, misapplying the publick Money to their own private Advantage, and vesting themselves in the Property of that Treasure, which is committed to them only
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in Trust for the Publick: These are justly called *Plunderers of their Country*. 'Tis of such as these, that we suppose the Words lately used with so high an Authority, and published among the Reasons for exalting to eminent Honours and Employ a Great Person, are to be understood. It is not Material to tell the World, that the Words, *farther Plundering the Nation*, are not the genuine Construction of the *Latin* in the Preamble to the Patent of Creation, publish'd. The printed Translation eminently informs us, that flattering Parasitical Place-seeking Mercenaries, have put this Word in, as a Construction to make their Court. It is to them we answer: The reproach they think thrown upon the former Ministry, is ruder and more unbecoming than Men of Quality ever give; much less does the Queen's Authority Legitimate the Words. Her Majesty cannot be supposed to think so. The Words of the Patent will not bear the Construction, as any body vers'd in the *Latin* may be judge of

Late Grassanti pecalatus pesti Coercenda.

And thereby prevented the further plundering the Nation.

This wrong Construction will clear these Sheets of any supposed Reflection upon the Queen's Patent, or the Preamble to it, or upon the Honourable Person it is supposed erroneously to Compliment. We answer only to the Paraphrafer and his Party. The E. of O--d is not meant here, as to his Lordship's Case. Better Reason cannot be given, than that he who prevented the *farther plundering* his Country, should be trusted by that Country he so faithfully served and honoured, and by the Sovereign.

This is not the Work in Hand, the Honours given that great Person are no object of our envy or disgust, may his applying himself to the Interest and Peace of his Country, with a disinterested and impartial Zeal, make those Honours appear every Day more and more to be rightly placed, that the Queen and the whole Nation may be every Day farther off from repenting the Gift.

That the Country has been *plundered*, is the Proposition evidently implied in the Expression formention'd, *farther Plundering prevented*; the Nation therefore was plundered before, that plundering was not prevented; It was prevented by his being Chancellor, or by *bearing the Weight of the Exchequer as Chancellor*. For our Information we are led here by the Hand to the
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Person, who was Guilty of this *plundering* before, at least it seems to suppose he was not according to his Duty, as Chancellor, careful to prevent it.

The Enquiry is natural, who are they that have *plundered the Nation*?

The Answer is laid down in the Premises; They that being Chancellors before did not prevent it, as has been to the Honour of the late Chancellor done since, are Guilty, &c.

O yes; ----S---b, Esq; Chancellor of Her Majesty's Exchequer, hold up thy Hand?

Thou stand'st indicted, by the Name of the late Plunderer of the Nation, for that not having the Fear of God, &c. but moved by the Instigation of, &c. thou didst not, according to thy known Duty in such case, prevent, by Virtue of the Power of thy Office, the Plundering the Nation. How sayest thou, how wilt thou be Tried?

The Person can have nothing to say, he is condemn'd by the Sentence of his Sov-----in, he is not only Guilty, but he is punished, he is turn'd out, he is esteemed unworthy to be trusted with so weighty an Office: How thankful ought Mr. S-----th to be, that he is not Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd, for Treason and Robbery.

It pleads in his Favour something, that he is but accessary to the Robbery; it cannot be inferr'd, that he was the Plunderer, he is Guilty but of negative Robbery, he did not Plunder, but he did not prevent the Plunder; by being in the Office of Chancellor he might, it was in his Power, it was his Duty to prevent: He that succeeded him did *thereby prevent further Plundering*, he is equally Guilty with the Plunderers of the Nation, for he did not prevent it, as his Successor has done.

This Enquiry is not made to expose the Receiver, but the Thief; not to find out him that did not prevent the *Plunder*, but the *Plunderers* themselves; this is an Enquiry to purpose, the first Question in the Title.

It is meet the Nation, which has been plundered, should know who are the Robbers; it is meet the *Plunderers* of the Nation should be brought to Condign Punishment: If---S---th Chancellor of the Exchequer should be hang'd, for not preventing this *Plunder*, they must be hang'd also, that knowing who they are, that have thus *plundered*, do not Detect, do not Impeach, do not bring to Justice these Robbers and *Plunderers* of their Country.

O yes;

O yes ; All you that know any Thing of this Matter, (*viz.*) who it is that has plundered your Country, and have concealed it, and have not discovered it, *hold up your Hands.*

You are all Indicted for feloniously concealing the Thieves, that have plundered your Country.

Whether must we run next ? shall our Impartial Justice Arraign the P---t ! or who is it with whom Power and Authority is lodg'd, to bring these *Plunderers* to the Block, or to the Gibbet, and have not done it ? what are they Guilty of ? We shall enquire into their Guilt in turn, let them look to themselves, let them clear themselves of wittingly and willingly, letting the Robbers go when in their Possession, what says the Law, *Thy Life shall go for his Life ; thy Reputation shall go for his Reputation ; thou shalt be called the Plunderer of thy Country, not him, because thou hast suffered this Spoiler to go out of thy Hand.*

This would be a useful Enquiry, very fit for the Examiner, who has taken upon him an Office like this, and Prides himself in it ; That the Nation has been *plundered* he

he will not doubt, all the Enquiry yet, all the Examination of it yet, has been by Calumny, the Talent of the worthy Examiner, this most Artificially he flings at those he rather would have us think Guilty, than be able to prove it.

The wisest Nations in the World have thought it convenient to make Enquiry into the Robbers and *Plunderers* of their Country; often such have been brought to publick Justice: It has been thought one of the greatest Crimes to waste the publick Treasure. *England* in former Ages has felt the evil Effects of such Men, and as often as they have been discovered, the good People of *England* have let them know, that such are esteemed as Harpies, Beasts of Prey, Vultures feeding upon the Bowels of their Country. History is frequent in Examples of such People: Most rare it is, that such have escaped most tragical Ends, such as they may expect who fall into the hands of the People, most justly provoked, to be Executioners of their own Laws.

Howbeit, in all the Ages past, it will be difficult to find when any Men, however they may have been great, and have been fortified with the Favour of their Princes, who have plundered their Country, &c. have wasted the Publick Treasure

sure, which has been in their Hands, but they have been brought to Justice, and have been made to spue up their ill-gotten Wealth, and oftentimes have expiated the Offence with their Lives, to be a Warning to others, and to deter them from the like heinous Crimes.

But it would be very difficult to find an Example in History, when a People have made Complaint of being *plundered* without using any Endeavours to bring the Persons forth, and to have Justice done upon them as Delinquents; this, as it is a Modern, so it is an unjustifiable Practice.

The Authors of such Accumulative Crimes, are no Crafts-Men in their Trade, who while they Shoot at Rovers as to Persons, and yet affirm the Guilt; either make Men believe they cannot make it out, or leave the World at Liberty to judge they are the Men themselves, only cry Whore. ---- A few Years since, there was a Man in *England*, Famous in the Senate, for exclaiming aganſt plundering the People. But when his inside happening to be turned outward, it appeared to have been his Trade for a long Time, and that his new way of making a Noise upon others, was a prudent stop to prevent his being pointed at himself.

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He came off very boldly, which was to come off well, at that time, saying in a Jest, that he was not willing the Nation should be plundered by any, but himself.

He was one of the first, that found out the happy Method of State Policy, to blast the Reputation of an Adversary, by the Form of an Accusation. Nevertheless, at the same Time never to bring that Accusation to a Trial, to point obliquely at the Person, but not directly, that he might wound many with the same Shot that kill'd none.

Let us make Inquisition into what ought to be called *plundering the Nation*, and what is not so, that whatsoever Persons are charged in this Sarcastm, may know whether they are Guilty.

Let us then examine who are Guilty of *plundering the Nation*, that we may learn more distinctly who *are not*.

Let us search into the Pretences upon some Men, that we may inform the Commons of *Britain*, whether they are any more than pretences.

Let us make reasonable Conjectures, whether those things, being no more than bare Pretences, of which no Evidence can be produced, is not the true Reason why they do not go on to a plain Charge.

Let us make search into the Justice, the
Rea-

Reasonableness, the Honour, the Policy of charging Men obliquely and indirectly, when they cannot bring proof sufficient to detect and convict them.

Let us feel for the Men, that have so much Occasion to blast the Reputation of Innocent Persons, that those Persons may be thereby disabled from eclipsing their own.

Let us answer, if it be *in Posse*, the just Objections that may be made against this Practice, and let us endeavour to shut the Door against their ever being brought in danger of falling into the same Pit themselves.

To waste the publick Treasure, to enrich our selves with the Money of the Common-wealth, pretending it is expended in the publick Service; to be Guilty of encreasing the publick Expence, by Bribes, accumulating Interests, make Parties and Friends to shelter against being call'd to account; to misimprove the Treasure, or to neglect to call those to account, that have the Peoples Money in their Hands, and who ought to be called to an Account for the same; to connive at the Insolvency of those under us, who being Bankrupt, yet are trusted to receive or pay the publick Money; to omit taking proper Securities of Persons entrusted with
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the publick Treasure, or with the Management of the Business; to omit punishing, or prosecuting such as have appear'd to be Guilty of embezzelling the publick Money; to reject due Information against Persons Guilty; to skreen and shelter such from Justice, who have been Guilty; to put such in Trust, who they know to be Infamous and Treacherous.

These are Things which will sufficiently mark out to the World, the Men Guilty of *plundering the Nation*, where are the Men? What are their Names? O *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, O *Juno*! Queen of Heaven! Why suffer ye such Men, who have thus plundered the Common-wealth, to be concealed; O *Quæstor*, O *vir Illustri & Perantiquæ Gentis Ortus*, *Ingenio ad Magna natus, ad Majora Eruditione Omnigena Institutus*! Why suffereſt thou such wicked Men, to remain unknown to us! Why dost not thou, who art a *faithful Councillor*, and a *Patriot of thy Country*, expose to us the Names of these Beasts of Prey, that we may hunt them down by the Blood Hounds of the Common-wealth, the Executioners of Justice, and bring them to that just Punishment they deserve, for such flagitious Crimes, such enormous Wickedness.

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The Men that have done these Things are worthy of Death, the Men that are confederated with them are worthy of Death, the Men that know them to be Guilty, and yet conceal them, and withdraw them from the Laws, are worthy of Death: but wretched People of *Britain*, ye have no Patriots, none whose Zeal will animate them, to deliver up to your Hands, those who have plundered you of your Wealth, and encreased your Poverty, involv'd you in immense Debts, from whence you or your Posterity will never be able to raise up your Heads.

On the contrary, innocent Men are pointed at for Politick Designs, to blacken their Reputation, to gratifie Parties, confirm Faction, possess Governours, deceive the People, that our Eyes may be subtilly drawn aside from the Discovery of the Truth, and Thoughts taken off from those who are the true Criminals, whom these Men subtilly skreen, not so much to favour, or save them, as to have the other thought Guilty of their Crimes, whom it is more the present Business, and better serves the Cause to have loaded with Guilt, and which can be no otherwise proved but by Suggestion.

It is true, that these Men have, by many oblique Glances, darted Guilt at the Persons lately employ'd in the disposing the Nation's Treasure; let us examine how impotent that Malice appears, while they dare neither Name the Person, or prosecute the Crime.

These Men are disappointed in the Slander, it can by no means be those Men, who are design'd in a late Preamble, as the *Plunderers of the Nation*.

It cannot be understood to mean those Men, sundry reasons occurring to make it most unreasonable; it cannot be thought that those People are Guilty, who were entrusted with the Superiour Management of the publick Moneys; because, if that there were just Cause for such Iniquity to be laid to their Charge, their present Circumstances are such, there is so much advantage to any false Friend, or to any Mercenary Servant to betray and accuse; and among the great Numbers which such People are always under a Necessity of trusting and employing, it could not be difficult to find unjust Persons, who would take hold of the Occasion to enrich themselves by the Spoils of a righteous Person, and it would be no hard thing to find one, who for the Lucre of a great Reward, would not stick to bring such
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an Accusation, if it were to be proved in a Court of Justice.

It neither is reasonable to believe, that the Preamble to the Patent of a most Honourable Personage, newly advanced by Her Majesty, to great Dignity, should in any wise look towards those Ministers of the Treasure, as will better appear, if the Reader of these Sheets is lead to enquire into those Matters, where-from the Pretences of the Nation's being plundered, are eminently deduced.

The Brewers for the Navy, as by the publick Animadversions of the Commons in Parliament, have been found Guilty of *Plundering the Nation*. The Sums which they have plundered, have been made publick in Print, by Order of the Parliament, amounting (altho' in an Article of such poor Concerns and Consequences) to above Fifty Thousand Pounds in the Space of one Year: These are not the Persons intended in the Accusation: This could never have been *prevented*, altho' the last Chancellor of the Exchequer had been in the Place at that Time: The Words are THEREBY, *Quasi Quaestor*, PREVENTED. The Small Beer in the Navy comes under the immediate Cognizance of the Commissioners of the Victualling Office; if they had done their Duty, and

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looked more narrowly to the Accounts of those Things, it might peradventure have been within their Reach, to have discovered those Plunderings. The former Chancellor of the Exchequer incurs no blame in omitting this Discovery: The New Chancellor can assume no Praise as Chancellor in preventing it: The whole is placed to the Discoveries of the Fraud, they have the National Praise in a publick Vote of the House of Commons: These are Plunderings, but these are not the Plunderings aimed at in the present Discourse.

The Officers of the Guards, and likewise of the Army, have been notoriously Guilty of *plundering the Nation*, by the fraudulent and corrupt Practices, which they have been found Guilty of, in false Musters, and other evil Methods of getting from the Publick, enriching themselves out of the Spoils of the People, mustering 80 Men in a Company, and receiving the Pay of that compleat Number, at the same time they have not above 30 or 35 Effective Men, to render Service to the Queen or the Publick upon any urgent Occasion; these Men have justly received the Censure of their Doings from the Parliament, and are to be reckoned among those that have been Guilty of *plundering the Nation*, inasmuch, as they have not only been

Guilty

Guilty of embezzelling the publick Treasure, by taking the Pay, of more Men, than were in the publick Service, They have also sheltred Bankrupts, and enabled them to defraud their Creditors; evading the Law, protecting themselves against the publick Justice; on the pretence of being Soldiers; when they were no ways in the Rolls or Lists of Soldiers; but for the serving the wicked Avarice and Covetousness of the Officers, who made a double Benefit by this Fraud; as they on one Hand received the publick Pay, and allowance for the Person so entertain'd as a Soldier; when in Truth he was no Soldier; on the other, the Officers made great Gain of the said Persons, for sheltring and hiding them from the Justice of their Creditors.

This Crime is in like Manner found to extend to the Army, and many Plunderers are to be discovered there; although all the weight of the present Discovery falls upon an infamous Scots-Man, who is worthily made an Example to the Rest, of whom this Particular is said to belong to his Character, which few arrive to, (*viz.*) *he deserves no Man's pity, and no Man was ever known to give it him.*

These Plunderers are of extraordinary Consequence to the Common-Wealth, the publick Good languishes under the Weight

of them, great Thanks and Praises are due to those that shall prevent the farther *plundering the Nation*, by these wicked Practices; yet these cannot be any part of the Thing now intended: These cannot be said to have been prevented by the Chancellor of the Exchequer: These come not in his Circumference of Action, and therefore these are not the Persons now aim'd at in the Accusation.

We come next to several Accomptants, who are chargeable with the publick Accompts, and have not passed their said Accompts in the Exchequer, according to the due Form; these have been represented by the Parliament as Guilty of great Misdemeanor. 35 Millions are said to be unaccounted, albeit it hath been said, these several Accomptants have not in all Points complied with the Forms and Modes of the Exchequer, according as they were bound by the Duty of their several Offices, and that they are Faulty in that Matter; yet it is said in their Vindication, or at least in Extenuation of their Crime, that the Substance is not remaining in their Hands unpaid or unanswer'd, wherefore they cannot be said to be *Plunderers of the Nation*; an Ignominious Word, which can be ascribed justly to those only, who have embezzelled the publick Monies, and converted

ed the same to their own private Emolument and Advantage. Now altho' these Accomptants have been deficient in their Duty, and for which they are animadverted upon by the Parliament in so severe a Manner, as if Guilty of a heinous Offence, and have been incapacitated for serving in their Employments for the same; yet it hath been said, that not only they have not embezzelled any part of the aforesaid Millions, which remain unaccounted for, none of the said Monies having come within their Reach, but even the several Receivers or Payers, or other Persons, which by those Accompts, stand chargeable with any of the publick Monies, have not, by Reason or Means of the said Accompts lying unsettled, been able to keep back any of the Monies aforesaid: But that when the Accompts are brought to their Examination, the Form is the only Thing that has appear'd deficient, and for which the Persons are blame-worthy.

This Business then, albeit that the Cognisance thereof may be said to be the proper Work of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that the New Chancellor hath been instrumental to put a Cheque upon the said Accomptants, who have as

aforesaid been deficient in their Duty ; yet can it extend to no more, than to give him due Praise in the Exercise of his bounden Duty : But lays no Foundation to speak of any Plunderings prevented by it.

Another kind of People have been in all Ages esteemed *Plunderers of their Country*, (viz.) such as who, hanging always on their Princes, or the Favourites of Princes, and making loud and incessant Repetitions of their own Merit, give their Sovereigns no rest, till by exorbitant Gifts, they get into their Possession large Sums, Donations, Pensions, and the like, far above their Deserts, and Grievous to the State ; which Monies should rather be applied to defray the Exigencies of the Publick, and save the People from the heavy Burthens, Taxations, Contributions, and Expence, the Commonwealth is burthened with, for carrying on the Wars, and other extraordinary Occasions.

If any such are among us to be found at this Day, for such have been mentioned, they are very much Friends to the Publick, who shall Discover them, and put a stop to these *Plunderings* ; and if the Person who was last Chancellor of the Exchequer, has laudably been a Means to detect and *prevent these Plunderings*, we must confess, he hath done his Country very great and meritorious Service. But it may be thought expedient to enquire,

quire, whether these Plunderings come under the especial Cognisance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, before we can reasonably conclude, that these are the *Plunderings of the Nation*, which publick Notice has been taken of, *yea* or *no*; and whether the Meritorious Praise of the great Person lately advanc'd to so great Glory, can be raised upon the Service of this kind, which he had done whilst he was in the Power of Quæstor or Chancellor, as has been said.

If not, then there are yet undiscovered some other *Plunderers of the Nation*, whose Iniquities are more immediately prevented by the Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. These are to be discanted upon, when the Censors of the Commonwealth, lately supposed to be the Commissioners of Accompts, shall, in the Course of their Office, come to find the same plainly laid open, and shall lay the Accompts thereof before the People, as is their Duty to do.

A new Word modernly used among the Commons, lays open to our enquiry; another kind of Plundering, which according to the vulgar Opinion comes under the Denomination in the present Case. This is called Misapplication.

Misapplication of the publick Revenue, may in several Cases deserve the Name of *plundering the Nation*: The Age is not without many Examples, in which it has been adjudg'd to be so, some of them may be useful to be made publick, the right Use of the Word Misapplication, will be the better preserved to Posterity.

In late Times, (*viz.*) in the Reign of King *Charles* the I. the Earl of *Middlesex*, Lord High *Treasurer*, was accused of Misapplication of the publick Treasure, and enriching himself and his Family out of the Spoils of his Country; by being tryed for the same, he was found Guilty of his Peers, and adjudged to pay a very great Fine, and to be incapable of any publick Trust for ever.

In the same Reign, the Duke of *Buckingham* was impeached by the Parliament. One of the Articles in the charge against him was, that he had enrich'd himself and his Family, by abusing the Favour of his Sovereign; that he had misapplied great Sums of the publick Monies, converting the same to his own private Use. Why this was not brought to a publick Trial, the Circumstances of those Times must alone Answer for.

In a late Reign, we have many Instances of *plundering the Nation*, which are too fresh
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in the Memory of the People, to be easily forgot.

Selling *Dunkirk* to the *French*, was esteem'd *Plundering the Nation in those Days*, as it was done without the Consent of the People, or any Parliament, and no account given in Parliament of that Money being applied to the publick Service: The Effects of the selling of *Dunkirk* have been manifestly a *Plundering the Nation in these Days*, since the *French* have made it a Receptacle of Rovers, who have in these long Wars done this Nation incredible Damages, the whole of which is owing to those *Plunderers*, who put the ancient Enemies of the Common-wealth in Possession of so eminent a Port, and which they have made so strong, that not all the Power of the People of *England*, have been since enabled to dispossess them. This is one of the *Plunderings*, for which this Nation is in Debt, to the Memory of K. Cha----- the II. He was then under the G---dance and Influence of High-Church *October*.

In the same Reign, the Nation was *plundered* by Whores Pensions, Subsistence to a spurious Progeny, the Offspring of Foreigners, &c. and the Extravagancies of a leud Sodomitish Court, over-run with flagrant Wickedness.

By

By *Pensions* paid to Parliament Men, to sell their Voices in Taxing the People, on the Pretensions of Wars, albeit the Court were said never to have intended those Wars, Alliances never entred into, Portions never paid, and such Things as these; so that all those Sums of Money were evidently misapplied as above, and the *Nation-plundered*.

By *wasting* large Sums given in Parliament, and laid upon the People Three Times after each other, for disbanding an Army, call'd in those Days *the Cut-Throat Army*; which Money was always spent and misapplied; yet the Army left unpaid, and undisbanded, till the People were forced to raise Money again; and *not trusting their King with it*, appoint Commissioners to see the said *Cut-Throat Army* paid and disbanded both together.

By *asking* and *taking* great Sums of Money to raise an Army against *France*, for which he had 3700000 *l. Sterling* given him in one Year, but made a shew only of the War, and then suffered a Peace to be clap'd hastily up, after the Manner, as may be seen in *Sir William Temples Memoirs*, and as some say, in *Portsmouth Closet*.

By

By *Demanding* Money for *Tangier*, and when no more was granted by the House, supposing *Tangier* to be only a Pretence, suffered all the Expences upon that Place to be lost, and demolishing the Fortifications, gave it up to the *Moors*, the want of which has been felt to the Nation's Irreparable Injury and Cost, during the present War.

By *running* the Nation into Needless, Fruitless, and unjust War with the *Dutch*, a War in its Beginning (*viz.* *Smirna Fleet*) infamous, in its carrying on Unprosperous, and in like Manner in its Conclusion shameful; since to Prey upon our Friends, and weaken the Protestant Interest, was the End of the War with the *Dutch*, the Expences of it cannot unjustly be esteemed by those, who love their Country, a meer *plundering* the same.

These Things were indeed most worthily esteemed *Plunderings* of the Nation, the Nation feels the Effects of these *Plunderings*; to this present Time, and may probably feel the same for many Ages to come; that Prince *plundered* the Nation in almost every Thing of this kind, that went thro' his Hands, calling himself a Protestant, he protested his Zeal for the Protestant Religion; yet positively insisted against the Protestant Succession to the Crown,

Crown, in Favour of his Brother, who was a profest Papist, and himself died a Papist, as appears by the printed Account of Father *Huddleston* the Jesuit, who assisted him at his Death, and administered the Sacrament to him, gave him the Viaticum and extream Unction, and received his Declaration of his dying in the Communion of the *Romish* Church: all which was printed by Order of King *James* the II. and Father *Huddleston's* Name set to them; which Papers, if we have room, shall be added to this Work by way of Appendix, That the Nation may inform themselves by whom they have been really *Plundered*: How far the High Church-Men join'd in with this *Popish* King, to Ruine and *Plunder* their Country, may take up some Place in this Tract. It is very fit to know, who have been the *Ancient Plunderers of the Nation*.

If *K. Cha--s* plundered the Nation, to pay Pensions or Allowances for secret Service, to 180 Members of the House of Commons, that they might Vote him the Sums which he desired to *Plunder* them of, then those 180 Members were equally *Plunderers*. Our Law punishing the wilful Receiver equally with the Thief.

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Howbeit, nothing will be allowed to be called *plundering* in the Construction of the Case, which is now in our Consideration, excepting only such *plundering* which might be *prevented* by a Chancellor of the Exchequer; or which, it may be justly said, without giving offence to any, ought to be *prevented* in the Office of *Quæstor*, or Chancellor of the Exchequer.

This therefore contracts our Enquiry after these *Plunderers* to a much narrower Compass than otherwise would be prescribed: In searching after the *Plunderers* therefore, who are now charged with this Wickedness, we shall either find them among those who have had the Charge of the publick Monies in the last Years of the present Age, or we may be forced to turn back upon the Persons who have adventur'd to lay this Charge upon them, and enquire again, whether they have not accused them falsely, which is an Iniquity to be punished by the Judge, and which said Crime was severely punished, as well among the *Romans*, as among all just and wise Nations, as far back as History or Antiquity can give us Information.

There are a Set of Men among us, who would have these *Plunderings* be understood of the late Ministry, or in plainer *English*, of those whom Her Majesty at
that

that time entrusted with the Publick Monies; whether at Home or Abroad; and tho' it might be a very just Enquiry to make in the Case, why they are not described, and the Matter put out in publick Print, that the Commons may know as well what they are *plundered* of; as who are the Guilty Persons; yet since the Accusers do not think fit to descend to Particulars, only lay a Suggestion, a Suggestion only can be spoken unto, leaving a more particular Replication or Defence, till the Charge is also more direct and particular.

In the first Place, we do not see it made clear, how the late Managers of the Treasure could embezzel the Publick Money, or convert it to their own use and behoof, but the Fact must be so evident, to so many under Officers concern'd, which Officers are still employ'd, that it must be easily made manifest, in which Case there would be no need of Side-Wind, and oblique Suggestions, like random Shot, or a Bow drawn at a Venture, but a point blank Indictment might be brought, and the Persons Guilty be named and apprehended.

Let us therefore, for Default of an explicit Charge, note one or two Things Preliminary to the grand Enquiry; we have said

said what it is to *plunder a Nation*, and dilated on the several kinds of *Plunderings*, which anciently this People have groaned under:

Let us enquire how far Misapplication of publick Monies, may or may not be Criminal; how far a just Man may, when the Administration of the publick Treasure is committed to him, apply any part of it Discretionarily to such Exigencies of the State, as may happen unforeseen, and yet absolutely necessary, without being Guilty of embezzelling, or dishonest misapplying the publick Money.

The nearest Way to arrive at this Truth, is to examine the Matter of Fact, as it lies in the Representation of the House of Commons, being in form of a Charge or Indictment against the late Managers; and albeit that Representation seems to be a genteler way of proceeding, than by Impeachment, Prosecution and Trial; yet it doth not seem to answer so well to the true Method and Design of publick Justice, neither doth it tend to the two ultimate Ends of Justice, *i. e.* Punishment of the Guilty Persons, and clearing the Innocence of those who may be falsely accused.

The Representation of the House of Commons, is the great Foundation where-
upon

upon those People, who accuse the late Management of the common Treasure, build their Accusation; let us see what this Charge amounts to, and how far the Representation may bear a Reply, or the Charge itself be examin'd and replied to.

The first Article in the Charge, is builded upon the following Clause in the Representation of the Commons aforesaid, wherein they set forth; That,

In examining into the State of the War, and Looking back from the Beginning of it, we find, that in several Years, the Service has been enlarged, and the Charge of it encreased beyond the Bounds prescribed, and the Annual Supplies granted by Parliament; To this new and illegal Practice, we must, in great measure, ascribe the Rise and Growth of the heavy Debts that lie upon the Nation.

To this part of the Charge it is necessary to be observed.

I. That albeit there has been an Enlargement of the Expence of the Year, beyond the Estimates given in the Parliament, yet has this Enlargement been confessed, even by the Accusers themselves, to be for the publick Service. So that here is no part of the *Plunderings* spoken of,

of, to be found in this part of the Charge, peradventure in none of the Rest.

We may be admitted to consider the Aggravations added to the said Clause which are set forth with great Enlargements in the aforesaid Representation, as follows ;

We must also represent to your Majesty, as a dangerous Invasion of the Rights of Parliament. The Commons must ever assert it their sole and undoubted Priviledge, to grant Money, and to adjust and limit the Proportions of it ; And when Your Majesty has recommended to them, to consider of Supplies, and they have deliberated upon the several Estimates for the Annual Services, and considered and determined what the Nation is able to bear, their Proceedings would be very vain and ineffectual, if, after the respective Sums are stated, and granted, those, through whose Hands the Disposition of them passes, are allowed, in any Measure, to alter and enlarge them. This is an Attempt which very little differs from levying Money without Consent of Parliament, as will appear to Your Majesty from this one Consideration, That a Charge of that kind once incurr'd, and laid as a Debt upon the Navy, or any other Publick Office, is so far binding upon Parliament, that how little soever they approve of the Means by which it was contracted,

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tracted, yet the Publick Credit being pawn'd, the Commons cannot, without the Ruine of That, refuse to provide for it.

The Case of the Managers of the said publick Treasure, as it relates to Enlargements, may be expressed thus :

At the Beginning of the Year, the Parliament being desired by the Queen's Majesty, to raise Supplies for the Service of the Year ensuing ; desire Her Majesty to Cause Estimates of that Service to be laid before the House of Parliament, that they may suit their Supplies thereunto, and give such Sums as they think necessary ; which is accordingly done, every Sum being (*as some would speak*) appropriated by the said Parliament, to the several respective Branches of the Service, for which they are raised.

Wherefore, the Question seems to lie wholly on this *select* Point, whether any discretionary Power is left in Her Majesty, in case any surprize or unforeseen Event shall fall in, which causes this or that Branch to call for more Expence, than could be foreseen by the Managers, when those Supplies were at the first Demanded, and the afore-said Estimates given in to the Parliament.

We shall not say, that any such Discretionary Power is left with the Queen ;
and

and whereas it seems to be a point, which the House of Commons are always very nice and tender in, and that it touches upon their Privilege of judging, both what the publick Occasions call for, and as is expressed in the Quotation above, what the Nation can bear to give, we shall not determine, or presume to give our Judgment in this Case: Nevertheless, we cannot abstain from proposing some difficulties, which will go far to take off the Edge of this severe Charge, and extenuate it from all those Aggravations, which some vain and contentious Men labour to heap upon it. As for Example.

Suppose the Managers of the Publick Affairs having, according to the best of their skill and understanding, given an Estimate of the Charge of the War in this or that part of the World; and if the Affairs there went on in their ordinary Course, such Estimate appear'd to be according to Truth, and proportioned with right Judgment unto the Expences then appearing needful: But in Prosecution of the War on that side, some unforeseen accident falls in the way, as the Surprise of some part of the Forces, the Defeat of the Army, the failure of some Schemes, the Miscarriage of some Enterprize, or the like Emergency, which calls for a greater Expence, than was expected. C 2 Sup-

Suppose for Example, the Enemy appears much stronger than was expected, that they bring more Forces into the Field on that side, than usual; or that our Army be weakened by some disaster, as above, by some Accident like *Brehieuga*, or of any other kind.

Without some speedy Supply, some immediate Application to this unforeseen and unprovided Accident, the Enemy becoming Superiour may be breaking in at the Gap, and if some speedy remedy be not applied, all may be in danger to be lost; what must the Persons, who are entrusted with the publick Ministration of Affairs, do in such extremity? *Must they tell the Sovereign*, that there is no Money left in the publick Treasure, which is proper to apply to that Service? that, *true it is*, there is Money in their Hands, but it is appropriated for other Uses of the War, respecting either the Navy or Victualling, or the other respective Branches of the War carrying on in other Places, and which they are not authorized by the Parliament to apply to any other Case, however extraordinary; and that therefore they can by no Means make use of it in this Case, tho' the whole Nation may be in imminent Danger? That there is in their Hands very great Sums of un-

appropriated

appropriated Monies arising from the Exceedings and Surplusages of some of the Funds granted by Parliament? some of those Funds having brought in larger Quantities of Monies, than they were supposed to raise.

But that the same is by the due Course of the Parliamentary Funds, to be applied *in aid of the Deficiencies of other Funds*, that the Debts of the Nation may not encrease; and that therefore, they are not empowered to make use of any of these Sums in the Exigencies then before them.

Suppose now for the Purpose, importing Advices came in the Neck of one another, for relief, immediate assistance and aid against the Enemy, who, unless speedy help is afforded, is breaking in, and that all will be lost; shall the Persons intrusted with the publick Money, and with the Sovereign's Assent, have no discretionary Power to borrow of one part, for the Relief of another, when the Safety of the whole Body is depending upon it? shall they stand still, and say, all the Money given for this purpose is gone, or is not sufficient, and we cannot make use of other Money? To illustrate this, suppose there are Troops ready for the Relief of this part, and might be there in Time,

but no Money is ready for Hiring or Victualling of Transports to carry them over ; or suppose the Country being ravaged by the victorious Enemy, and the Magazines destroyed, and that there are no Provisions to be had, without a farther Supply of Money to replenish the said Magazines.

Shall the publick Ministers let the Troops remain at home, or let the others Perish and Famish abroad, rather than Trespass upon the appropriated or unappropriated Moneys, that is in their Hands for their Support? Or shall it be much more reasonable for them, to venture the borrowing of one part, to support another, and thereby preserve the whole, laying the Necessity and Urgency before the Parliament, who in that Case may rather see cause to give Praises and Thanks to their Prudence, than to blame them as Mismanagers?

All the Charge in this Case amounts to no more than the Application of Money, to the unforeseen Exigencies of the War, which may have exceeded the Estimates at first given in, in which case, if the Queen, or those in the Ministration of her Affairs, have no discretionary Power on such extraordinary Cases, the Enemy may over-run us on the suddain, and we may be destroy'd for want of Supply,

ply, when the Exchequer may be full of Money.

This seems to us, as if a Man having a quantity of Water reserv'd for the Use of his Family or Cattle, and charging his Servant to apply it to no other Use, should punish that Servant for making Use of the said Water, when his House happened to be on Fire, and by which Water, the said House was preserved from being burnt down ; This seems to be exactly the Case in the following Head, or Branch of the said Representation of the House of Commons.

With regard to the Debts of the Navy, we find, That one great Discouragement and Burden, which that Part of the Service has lain under, has been from a Liberty that has been used of diverting several Sums issued to that Service, and transferring them to other Purposes, for which they were not intended ; Particularly, that the Sum of Six Hundred and Six Thousand, Eight Hundred and Six Pounds, Seven Shillings and Seven Pence, belonging to the Navy, has been paid for Provisions supplied to Land-Forces sent to Spain and Portugal, and for the Garrison of Gibraltar ; for which no Deductions have been made from the Pay of those Forces, nor any Part of that Sum re-assigned to the Victualling, notwithstanding the

several Acts of Parliament provided, and the many Letters writ, and Representations made, to the Treasury, in that behalf. This unjustifiable Proceeding has been a Discouragement to the Seamen, occasioned the paying extravagant Rates upon Contracts, and has very much contributed to sink the Credit of the Navy.

This, to any considering Men, must be confessed to be no other thing than what we have already mentioned, (*viz.*) that there being an immediate Necessity, after the several Defeats and Disappointments received and suffered in the War in *Spain*, of sending speedy and effectual Relief to the Armies on that side, and there being no Provision made, or Monies appropriated sufficient for that Service; the appropriated Money of the Navy was made use of, for the supplying Provisions for the Land-Forces, while on Board the Ships that transported them thither; whereas it is manifest, that if those Supplies had not been sent, the Affairs of *Spain* were in great Danger of being lost.

In all this we find no word of any private Embezelment, amassing the Publick Treasure to private Uses, taking the appropriated Monies, and reappropriating the same to Persons, Families; &c. nor
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is there the least appearance in all this, of what we find, called by the Odious Term of *Plundering the Nation*.

Some have thought, that these Things for which the publick Blame seems to lie upon the Men employ'd in the late Administration of the Publick, are the Thing which contrary wise ought rather to be imputed to their Wisdom, Prudence, Care of the publick Affairs, and just Administration; since it would have been an Omission in those great Officers which a wise Man would be unwilling to account for, if they should have suffered any mishap to have befallen the Publick, and have let the Enemy break in at any of those Breaches which they had made, and not have applied proper Remedies for those Accidents; notwithstanding the Monies then made use of, was appointed or appropriated, or notwithstanding the Surplus Monies then in their Hands, should (*and such Exigencies excepted no Question would*) have been applied in Aid of the Deficiencies of other Funds.

A pregnant Instance, which may serve for the Illustration of this, may be taken from the late Invasion of the *Pretender*, and his *French* Auxiliaries upon the North part of this Island; it was an unquestioned Truth, that the Parliament had given no Money, made no Provision, appropriated

ated no Tax for that Service ; The Ministry had made no Estimate, or the Queen demanded any Supplies for preventing the Invasion of the *Pretender*, or for Defence of *Scotland* against the said Invasion ; yet the Ministers would very ill have answered it to the Parliament, if they should have made no Provision out of whatsoever Monies, to send Forces both by Sea and Land, to preserve the Queen's Dominions against the *Pretender* : Ships were required for this Service, to transport Troops from *Holland*, a new Train of Artillery was necessary to have been sent from *London*, Magazines of Provisions, Forrage and Ammunition must have been provided, had the Enemy landed ; perhaps some Millions must of necessity have been applied to that Work, to whatsoever other purposes the Money had been appropriated ; yet the Nation could not be said to be PLUNDERED by this, but might well have been said to have been betray'd to the *French*, if Money had been withheld,

It seems impossible, that any Man, howsoever Just, or howsoever Prudent, can possibly carry on the Affairs of the publick Treasure in this Nation, but they will sometimes have such Exigencies as these come in their Way, which if they shall omit to supply,

supply, they will justly incur publick blame, and if not, they will of necessity come under the same Difficulty, which the preceeding Ministers now seem to labour under.

We come next to examine a previous Point, which seems effectually to overthrow all the Indictment, and which, if false in the Affirmative, the very thing suggested vanishes into Slander; There are who deny that there is *any Appropriation of Funds at all*; let us then State the Question briefly.

Is there any such thing as the Appropriation of the Funds or Publick Taxes, to this or to that especial Service or Branch of the War; or is there no such thing in being?

The Answer is as brief.

The Monies granted by the Parliament are thus entituled; Aids granted, or Supplies given to Her Majesty for the Service of the Year, ----- or to carry on the War, or for the Service of the War, and such as this.

This is an Appropriation of all the Monies given or granted by Parliament, to the Uses of the War; if the Monies
or

Monies or Managers of the publick Treasure, have applied the Monies so given, for the Service of the War unto other Uses, altho' those Uses were Publick; As for Example, to the Civil List, or to publick Edifices, or the like, peradventure this would be accounted a Misapplication, and come within the aforesaid Charge of *Plundering the Nation*.

But we do not find any particular Tax given and appropriated for this or that especial Service in such a Manner, which says the Money raised by this Act, shall be applied to pay this or that part of the Army, or of the Navy; and that it shall not be lawful to apply any part of it to any other Uses; So that if the Money is applied to the Service of the War in the general, it cannot lie within the Charge of misapplying the Monies in particular, tho' it be not applied to that part it was intended for.

In a certain printed Paper, called a REP-----, it is said, that the Sum of 606806l.7s.7d. BELONGING to the Navy, is employed to the Service of the Army. Peradventure we may not know what way this may be understood by the People: It is not difficult to understand what way it is desired the People should take it; But the more judicious say, that this is

no Misapplication in the least Degree, forasmuch as that those Monies are still employed for the carrying on the War against *France*, or against *Spain*, as is by the general principal Design and End of giving Taxes intended and resolved; and tho' it may not be paid to that particular Branch, for which it was intended, yet that intending of it for any especial Service, may not be called such a positive appropriating it, that it should be criminal to employ it to any other Service, within the Circle of the War, and which necessity might not only excuse them in, but might make to be their Duty.

Altho' we do not by Affirmation, take upon us to lay this down on our only and single Authority, being unwilling to lie liable to the Charge of Arrogance, in offering our private Interpretation to Matters so much above our reach, and which have passed the Sentence of Parliament; yet we are willing to make all Men the Judges of our Opinion, wherein it seems to be very just, that such a Construction be made, for it seems to us most unjust and severe, that when a great and sufficient Sum of Money is given for the publick Defence of the whole Nation, that there should not some discretionary Power be lodged in the Sovereign, whereby She shall be enabled to apply this Money to such

Parts

Parts of the publick Service, where the common Safety, more especially calls for it; which discretionary Power, if it be denied, then may the Enemy break in on this or that side, while by some unforeseen advantage he prevails more here than there, and suitable help being not provided for that part, for want of Power in the Administrators of the Government to supply that immediate unforeseen exigence from some other part, the whole may be endangered, and the Enemy may break in with too great Force, to be afterwards resisted; As for Example: Suppose a General has ranged his Army for a Battle, and assigned to every Brigade, or every Regiment its Place in the Lines, and given them strict Orders to keep their Post; if when the fury of the Battle has altered the Face of Things, and an Officer who Commands a Brigade, or a Regiment, perceives the Line before him in Distress, or the Enemies breaking in here or there, where it is in his Power immediately to restore the Breach, or support the other, and perhaps rout the Enemy; if he shall not have Power to do this signal Service, because his Orders were so and so, the wholly Army may be defeated, for want of his acting as Occasion offered; we have very rarely known any Battle fought in the World, where

where some such incident as this does not happen, and a faithful Officer is always lauded for taking hold of such Occasions; to give you one Example of this may not be amiss; At the great and famous Battle of *Landen*, when the *French* were assaulting the first Line of the Confederate Army, which lay entrench'd, and were valiantly defending themselves, The Duke of *Berwick*, with a select Party of Horse, who had vowed the Death of King *William*, broke thro' the Right Wing of the Army, and coming into the Space between the two Lines, did not charge home upon the Second Line, as was expected, but turned to the right, and ranged along the Space between the Lines, with design to surprize the King, who he knew was to be found there. A Colonel of a Regiment of *Hannover* Horse, who was drawn up in the Second Line, whose Orders no Question were to keep the appointed Station, and move as the Line moved; yet seeing this Party of Horse break in, advanc'd with Two of his Squadrons, and crossing the Space of Ground, presents himself just before the Duke of *Berwick's* Men, and with the other Squadron pusht in behind him, and surrounding him in this Manner, *Berwick's* Men were all cut in Pieces, and himself taken Prisoner; had not this Officer thus taken
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the Occasion, that small Party would have bid fair to have cut off the King in the middle of his Army, who, even as it was, run so much hazard, that Sixteen of those Men came up in sight of him, and one of them was killed just as he was going to present his Piece at the King; there was no REPRESENTATION made to the King of this Colonel's having broken the Orders of his General: In like manner, in the Distribution of the publick Monies, for the Uses of the War, it appears expedient, that a Power may be lodged some where to Act as they see Occasion in Cases of unforeseen Necessity, in which Cases, if speedy Relief and Assistance should not be applied, peradventure the whole Government may be overturned.

The Straightness in this Case also destroys the Prerogative Royal, and seems a very strange Encroachment on the Right of Sovereignty, especially, having well pondered the Persons, who it is said to proceed from, who have been eminently known to make great Pretences of their Desire, to give all due extent to the Prerogative of the Prince, and have been rather blameworthy for their extending the said Prerogative too far, than for straightning and invading the same.

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From all these beforementioned Particulars it appears, here has not really been any semblance of Guilt in the Ministration of the Publick Treasure, either to cause such Representations and Complaints against the Persons intrusted therewith, or to render them unfit to be trusted with the same, much less have there been any such Mismanagements, as to merit the Individuous Appellation of the *Plunderers of the Nation*; Nevertheless, with all the harsh Words that could have been used, these People have been slandered, tho' they have been accompanied with not the least Proof otherwise than positive Assertions openly printed, in the Filthiest Paper for slander in the Town, (*viz.*) the *Post-Boy*; wherein it is said, *the Nation has been Plundered*, without offering any legal Testimony of the same.

Moreover, these Persons are represented as misappliers of the Nations Treasure, because they have encreased the publick Service, and caused greater Demands for the publick Expence, than they had proposed to the Parliament; whereas, had they given the Houses to understand, that such Services would have required farther Expence of Treasure, the Houses, with their accustomed, alacrity would not have failed in a most dutiful Manner, to have made Provision for the same. D This

This is the most apposite thing in all the Charge, and which it may be feared will cleave closest to the Persons represented against, because it Charges them with a Defect in their Fore-knowledge of Things ; forasmuch, as it is manifest to all the Queen's Leige People, that the Publick Ministry must of Necessity be acquainted with the Success of the Battle of *Almansa*, a long Season before they knew it would be Fought ; and that they were informed of the Invasion of the *Pretender*, some time before the *French* King himself had appointed or contrived it ; it is therefore in verity a great and unanswerable Guilt, that they did notwithstanding thereof conceal these weighty Things from the Parliament, and did not in any wise demand Supplies ; therefore thereby laying the Queen under the Necessity of employing such of the publick Monies, as *belonged to* other Branches of the War, to the necessary Defence of the Nation against those Emergent Occasions, which had they given timely Notice of, might have had with the rest a timely Provision in a Parliamentary Method ; and this must questionless amount to a high Misdemeanour.

Thus far have we proceeded in discovering some of those Causes which have brought

brought so great a Weight of Debts upon the Nation, and we might have made a much greater Progress in our Enquiries, if the Accounts of the Publick Money had been regularly passed, but to our great Surprize and Concern, we find, *That they who of late Years have had the Management of Your Majesty's Treasury, and ought to have compelled the several Accountants duly to pass their respective Accounts, have been guilty of so notorious a Breach of Trust, and of so high an Injustice to the Nation, that of the Moneys granted by Parliament, and issued for the Publick Service to Christmas 1710, there remains unaccounted for, the Sum of Thirty Five Millions, Three Hundred and Two Thousand, One Hundred and Seven Pounds, for a great Part of which no Accounts have so much as been laid before the Auditors ; And for the rest, though some Accounts have been brought in, yet they have not been prosecuted by the Accountants, and finished.* This has made it impracticable for us to arrive at so exact a Knowledge of the State of the Nation, with regard to the Publick Money, as we wish'd and might have expected; and Your Majesty will please to consider, in such an immense Sum unaccounted for, how many Embezelments may be concealed, and how Justly it is to be suspected, That so

scandalous a Remisness has been allowed with no other Design. We humbly beseech your Majesty, That You will give immediate and Effectual Directions for the Compelling the several Imprest Accountants speedily to pass their Accounts; and in the mean time, we humbly hope, Your Majesty will approve the Resolution of Your Commons, *That such of the Accountants, who have neglected their Duty in prosecuting their Accounts, ought no longer to be entrusted with receiving the Publick Money.*

So that although the said Necessities are not quarrell'd at, *their being unforeseen* is made Criminal, which is a Case no publick Minister can avoid: This is called a kind of anticipating the Parliament, and forcing them to raise Money, whether they will or not.

The A--- is not much unlike this, which is used in the following Paragraph of the Representation; Which may perhaps amuse the poor Ignorant Multitude, with the Notion of Five and Thirty Millions of Money being embezelled; and howbeit, the Representatives do not say any such Thing, yet are some Men among the People busie, to blind the Eyes of the Nation, which at this Time is but too much subject to Delusion, with the Belief of it; although the whole

whole Complaint being only against a formality in passing the Accounts of the Persons, who have been concern'd in those Monies, there is not so much as any thing said of there Money being in their Hands, in which Case, no Question the House would have ordered them to be forthwith proceeded against.

The Paragraph may answer for it self, to those who please to enquire into the Thing, and therefore we have incerted it, that those who have been imposed upon, may inform themselves better.

These Things are aggravated with all the Zeal and Passion, which the present Animosity of the Times, by a natural Tendency, leads the People to, and therefore it is no longer enquired into, whether these People are Guilty, but the rather what Punishment ought to be inflicted upon those, who have in this manner behaved towards the People, and who have in so open a Manner *plundered the Nation*.

This well lead us by the Hand to the Second Question, which in our Title we proposed to speak something to, (*viz.*) *Why these Plunderers are not detected and punished.* Questionless, if the Nation hath been plundered, it is not only the bounden Duty of every publick Minister, to

prevent its being *farther plundered*, but it is likewise Incumbent upon them, to do Justice upon the Persons Guilty: This is owing to the People, and it is also owing to the Body Politick, that future Ministers may be deterred from the like guilty Practices, think ye, that the Hanging of the Lord Chief Justice *Tresilian*, who in King *Richard* the Seconds Days covered the *Plunderings of the Nation*, with a Shaddow of the Law, and gave the Royal Will and Pleasure a full Swing in Oppressing, and robbing the People, hath not been a *Memento* to all the Judges of that Bench from thenceforth, unto this Time. In like Manner, the false Steps which were taken under the late Reign of King *James* the II. under an illegal and unjustifiable Commission, Entituled, *The High Commission-Court*, while it made the Persons who accepted of the said Commission, and acted in pursuance of the Powers thereby, Tremble, at the Apprehensions of the Punishments they deserved, and endeavour to get the publick Indemnity, or Pardon for the same after the Revolution, think ye, that it doth not stand as a Buoy on a Shell, to warn Posterity, how they launch in among those Dangerous Places, where they are apparently in hazard of Destruction, this sheweth unto us all the

Use.

Usefulness of executing Justice on such Offenders, how necessary it is to the publick Good, and to prevent the like encroachings upon the People, also is it some Reparation of the injury to the Persons injured, *which are the People* ; for whereas, it is impossible to make them Satisfaction, by restoring the Goods or Monies, whereof they are thus *Plundered* : The Punishment of the Thief that has *plundered* them seems to be the least Reparation and Satisfaction that can be demanded of the Government, without this, it is true the Praise of those, who prevent *the farther Plundering the Nation*, is most Righteous ; but of those who shall execute Justice on the People, who have thus *plundered the Nation*, shall be Sung the Song of *Israel* : The first has Slain their Thousands, but the latter have Slain their Ten Thousands, and surely the Deliverance of *Israel* shall be ascribed unto the latter, rather than unto the former.

Furthermore, it seemeth unavoidably necessary, to justifie to the World, the Truth of this Charge, that these People who have *plundered the Nation*, and who have been Remiss and Negligent, Unfaithful and guilty of Misapplication of the publick Monies, should be brought to Condign Punishment ; because if this is not done,

the People may be too apt to conclude, that in Deed and in Truth there is no such Thing, since if it were so, the Persons would questionless be brought to answer for it, and be punished with the utmost severity; but whereas, there is no Prosecution of the Law against the Delinquents, certainly there is nothing of Truth in the Charge. This, as it carries a face of just reasoning with it, so on the other Hand will it redound very little to the Credit and Reputation of the Accusers, let us take it which way we will, for if they are not proceeded against for want of Proof of the Matter, then doth the Black Charge of Slander and Defamation lie against the Accusers, and they will be blamed by all just Men as Guilty of a most Enormous Crime, (*viz.*) that of false Accusers. But if the Persons are not proceeded against; notwithstanding clear Proof of the Crimes laid to their Charge, then will the Accusers be guilty of the most unfaithful dealing with their own Country that can be imagined, in letting those Offenders escape due Punishment, who have so injuriously treated the Nation, who have misapplied the publick Treasure, *and plundered the People.*

It is Manifest, that this Charge lies heavy upon several Parties of Men, who have

have made themselves Popular by their loud Clamours against the late Ministers, and peradventure, it was for this Reason, that they had for a long Time since revived an old Slander, for some Time before buried and forgotten among the People, (*viz.*) that the late managing Men in the former Times had subtilly and craftily obtain'd an Act of Indemnity or Free-Pardon, for all Offences against the Government, that thereby they might hide themselves, as with a Skreen, as well from the publick Justice, as from the Anger of the People : It was reasonable among these Folk, so to Judge, why else should the Ministry of that Time, bring in a Bill of Oblivion, or a publick Pardon, but that they might take shelter under the Shadow of it, and that they might be protected by it, from the just Sentence of the Law due to them, for the Plunderings and Misapplications whereof they had been Guilty ; it was alledged, that this Pardon was brought in by an unusual Method, that it was first settled *as it had been contrived* among themselves, that all the Exceptions were made by themselves, that they had so formed it, that it should be sure to cover their own fraudulent Practices, and all those under them ; that the Queen had left it wholly
to

to them; and that no Man could believe them so weak, as not to make it sufficient to themselves; that for this Reason, there remained no other way to deal with these politick Masters, but to expose them to the People, by laying their Practises open to all the World, and by Representations and Reflections to make their Guilt obvious to the common Understandings of the Multitude; that seeing they could not be punished, they might however be hated for their Malefactions, and the great Crimes they had been Guilty of, *in plundering of the Nation*, and misapplying the publick Treasure.

This has obtain'd very much upon the publick Belief, and as on one side the Thing seemed very reasonable to believe, that Men who were Conscious to themselves of any Guilt, and had at the same Time an Opportunity to obtrude an Act of Oblivion upon the Nation, should effectually skreen themselves by it from any Prosecutions which might follow upon their Malversation in the Publick: There did not at first View seem any room to doubt, or make Question of the Truth of the Charge, People esteemed them right crafty in doing so: Some would be apt to say in Extenuation of the Thing, that it was nothing but what any People would do in
such

such a Case, and what there were many precedent Cases to plead for, as in the Case of the E. of *Dan----*y, *Ro-----*ster, and the High Commission Court, and others ; But no Man so much as entertain'd a Suspicion of the Truth of the Thing all this while ; indeed, who would have suspected it, when it was remembred out of whose sacred Mouths, the Accusation was said to be received ; and an Author that would be thought to have Sence, the want of which he supplies with Effrontery and Forgery, and that is grown Famous for writing all without Book, who writes the smoothest Falshood, and the least Truth of most Writers of his Time. (*viz.*) *The Examiner* took this Affair in his Hand, giving all Assurances, that this *Act of Oblivion* was fram'd to cover the Crimes of the late Ministry, and upon his word vouch'd this to be Truth, with such solemnity, that few People, who were willing to have it appear true, or who were indifferent, whether it did or no, but believed it to be so : Even the Friends of the Persons accused, cared not to speak of this Matter, lest peradventure it might be, as was suggested ; which they thought more than probable to be so. Few all the while entertaining a Thought, that the said Ministry were so clear in their own Inno-

Innocence, so far, not only from *Plundering the Nation* themselves, but from desiring to permit others to do it, that of their own accord, and by their own original Convtrivance they had *in totidem Verbis*, excepted out of the said *Act of Oblivion*, or general Pardon, all such as had any concern in the publick Money.

When this came to be made Publick, it was most surprizing indeed to many People, but the most sensible among the other Party, were divided into Two Bands.

1. They who had taken up a Belief of the Guilt of these Ministers from light Cause, either that in Zeal to their own Party they desired to have it true, and therefore with the more facility entertained the Belief of it, or that believed it meerly upon the being imposed upon in this Notion, of the Indemity, were astonished with this discovery, and marvelled exceedingly, that Men who were Guilty should except themselves, and these therefore forthwith entertain'd differing Opinions of the Things in Debate, alledging it with not Consonant to Common Sense, that these Men could be Guilty of that very Crime, which they had caused to be left out of the *Act of Indemnity*.

2. On the other Hand, some who were far

farther gone in the Opinion of their Guilt, and were Zealous for the Ruine of their Persons, expressed some surprize of Joy at this Discovery, alledging, that according to the Ancients, *qui Jupiter vult perdere hos Dementat*, that they had, like desperate Persons, been infatuated into a neglect of their own Safety, and that thinking themselves out of reach of the Law, or of any humane Power, they had contemn'd the Oblivion, and were now fallen a Prey to the Law.

Either of those Sorts of People are amused, and in the End brought off from the new Ministry Party.

The First are stagger'd by the Fact it self, and are prepared to entertain Thoughts of the Innocence of the Persons, because they purposely left themselves naked, and without Defence, when perchance it was fully in their Power, to protect themselves from the Law.

The other are disgusted at their own Party, because having discovered, that the old Ministry have thus effectually left themselves open to the Law: They do not take the Advantage of them as Persons actually in their Power, and fall upon them with Impeachments, with Tryals, Judgments, and Execution.

Howbeit, the Men of the present Age, see
much

much farther than these People, and altho' they were content, that the People should deceive themselves, with the Thought of the artful Contrivance of the Ministers, in Order to secure and skreen themselves from the Law, by the *Act of Oblivion*; yet, they knowing full well, that there was nothing in such pretence, but that the Law was fully open against them, forbore; nevertheless to proceed by legal Prosecutions, as being fully satisfied, that they had not wherewith to impeach them, and that in such a Procedure they should be repulsed with loss, that the Ministers would come off with Applause, and their Innocence appeared in a legal way; whereas, by this New Method of blackening, and throwing Dirt upon them by reflection and suggesting Guilt, they would leave the People in suspense, and answer the End, which was rendring them Odious to the People, which they could not otherwise bring to pass.

For these Reasons, and abundant more, they have thought good to make Choice of this way of reproach, without proceeding to a Tryal, and legal Charge, or Indictment, taking therein a greater Latitude to load and asperse them, than they could otherwise do, and withal effectually depriving them of the Means of vindicating themselves; whether this Method be con-

sisting

sisting with Honour and Justice, or with the just Liberties of this Nation, may rest in dispute yet a while, until many Things which are yet concealed, come to be known. But it seemeth, as if many People were of the Opinion, that a Time may yet come, when Justice may be obtained, and when many Things in the present Management towards them, may come to be answered for.

Howbeit, it is thought expedient to say this, briefly, to lodge in the Minds of the Readers, what Courses are now taking to establish the modern Reputation of some Men upon the Ruine of those whose Credit it is Dangerous to bring to Tryal, lest they should shine thro' the Clouds they have raised to eclipse them.

Hence it is Evident, the true Reasons why these Men have not been brought before the Tribunal of the State, is, because the Guilt charged upon them in the public Discourse of the Town, cannot be proved, so as to form any Process, or so as to amount to any Crime punishable by the Judge.

Could this have been done, the Enemies of the Old Ministers are not so few, or is their ill-will so little, but that these should feel their Resentment every way they could. It is true, the Clamours of their Enemies, and the Cries of the Multitude have run
them

them out of their publick Trust and Employments, as if they were Criminal, but the first Fury of the People being abated, and the Tumults which are always Impetuous being allayed, the Numbers that come to themselves again, encrease daily.

It is Evident, The old Ministers committed no Mistakes, which 'tis possible for the New ones to avoid.

It is Evident, The Old Ministers committed no Mistakes, which the New can take any legal Advantage of.

It is Evident, Those Things which in the Old Ministers are called Mistakes, were made necessary to them to do, or the Nation must have been ruin'd.

It is Evident, That the same Methods, which the Old Ministers acted by, the New Ministers follow, and that because they can pursue the true Interest of the Nation, by no other way.

It is evident, That all those Steps of which the People have complain'd in the Old Ministers, they are brought to suffer and Submit to under the New.

It is Evident, That all the Reasons why they complain'd of the Old Ministers, may be resolved into their Resolutions, to entertain New.

It is Evident, That either this Nation must bring the Ends which the Old Ministers

nisters aim'd at, to pass by the New, or bring the Old in again, to finish their own Work.

It is Evident, Almighty God succeeded the Endeavours of the Old Ministers, to a Degree even Wondrous to us, and all the World; we are oblig'd to hope the same of the New, or to wish them out, and others in their stead.

It is Evident, The Poor People have been cheated and deluded, in being made believe the New Managers would carry on all Things without raising more Taxes, and that the Commons of *Britain* see no Alteration in Management, albeit they see New Faces at the Table.

It is Evident, The New M-----s run a very great Hazard, since, if they meet with the least Disappointment, the People may come to see, how they have been deceived, and therewith discover who hath deceived them, which may be fatal to Fa---tes.

These Things being so Evident, as hath been said, the Number of those which come to themselves again daily, is very Great, and the Reputation of the abdicated Ministers of State recovers in the Eyes of all those People, who make use of their Reason in considering these Things.

It appears, That had they been Guilty of the *Plunderings* and *Misapplications*,
 E which

which have been *represented*, these would not have delay'd their Judgment, and also their Execution, one Moment, for they desire ardently the Destruction of Bad People, but they want such Crimes to fix, as will bear the Essay of a Prosecution.

It appears, That the A-----s durst never bring their A-----s to the Tryal, being conscious of the false Ground, whereupon the same is founded.

It appears, That the accused stand openly in their own Defence, and have not as yet discovered any Apprehensions of the Danger, they might reasonably be supposed to be in, from the Discovery of their Behaviour; nor have they ever either absconded or fled from the publick Justice.

It appears, That the Nation do not discover a propense Desire, to have these Men prosecuted, or that there is an Inclination in the Minds of the People, to believe them Guilty.

It appears, That no direct Charge of personal Embezelments or Misapplication can be found, but such remote *Circumstantial Constructio* Plunderings are suggested and fetch'd to supply that deficiency, and to accumulate Guilt, that cannot otherwise be made out.

The Nation does not forget what Suggestions were in the Beginning of this Breach,

Breach, brought upon the Stage of Discourse; how in order to move a Sedition among the People, it was given out with great Popularity, that the late *Treasurer* could not make up his Accounts; That Two Millions, other whiles Five Millions, other whiles Seven Millions, were missing in the Treasury; that he had pretended to Borrow great Sums of Money, which were not borrowed, and so put the Interest in his Pocket; that he had transported great Sums of Money into Foreign Banks and Funds, and the Number of the Surmises are not to be reckon'd.

Like Surmises were made the Subject of bold Reflections upon the Duke of *M-----gh*, as to his Conduct both Abroad and at Home; that he had defrauded the Army of their Due; that he had taken the Money levied for Contributions, and Quota's of Forage provided for the Army; that he had been guilty of several Frauds in his Office of General; that he had omitted his Duty, when he might have made such Eruptions into *France*, as would have ruined the Enemy; that he did behave with Partiality to his Officers, keeping some back, whose Merit would have promoted them in the Army, and pushing others upon needless Hazards, and desperate Services; with several Enormities, which they stuck not to blacken

him with, that his Character might become low and little in the Eyes of the People. These Things were aggravated to the utmost Length they were able to make, and during Two Months before the Election of the Parliament-Men, they talk'd loudly over the Nation of Impeaching both the aforesaid Persons, and bringing them to Justice; nay, to the Block: that their Crimes were sufficient to assure their Condemnation; that they had Evidence enough against them, to Sentence them as they thought good; and several Authors have published, that some made it the Condition or Test, to quallifie Members to represent them, that they should agree to impeach both the Treasurer and the General; this was the State of this Case before the Beginning of the Parliament. When the New Schemes, as they have since called them, were yet in their Infancy, and whilst the People were permitted to see nothing, but what their Guides thought fit to give them leave, leading them by implicit Belief, to take down every Thing for Truth, which their Instructors handed forth to them.

It is not to be denied, that since the Time that these boastings were so frequently made use of; we have seen a Parliament assembled, wherein we found their
Friends,

Friends, or at least such as were thought to be their Friends, so few, and also backward enough to declare themselves, the House replenished with Faces, that owed them no Smiles, and from whose Principles there was no apparent hope to expect any thing but Justice, if peradventure, that was to be expected from a Party so filled with Animosities against them; yet, hitherto, we find no Beginnings of those direful Executions, JUSTICE, whereof they were so assured, is not yet AWAKENED, but sleepeth over the abundance of those Crimes, with which they had sounded a loud Alarm through the Nation. Those People who so strongly knit themselves unto each other, for the prosecuting and bringing these great Men *to the Block*, have let fall all those furious Resolutions, with which they appeared so armed, that one would have thought it impossible for any one to have escaped them; all their Clamours are ceased, their Capital Crimes are sunk into calumniating, and venting their impetuous Anger, like Fume at the Mouth of a Venomous Beast: They have indeed hiss'd aloud, and thrust forth the forked Tongue, to shew the Rage of their Desires; they have croaked aloud, and roar'd like a Lion in the Toyl, their Voice has been heard far and wide, Representation
upon

upon Representation, *Pelion* upon *Ossa*, intending to reach up to Heaven. *Parturiunt Montes!* The great Noise has been terrifying and amazing, the Common People have flock'd about the Senate House, and looked for mighty Things. But what hath this seeming Mountain brought forth *Ridiculus Mus!* a R E P. or as hath been said, a M I S R E P. But why, O Fathers, have we not rather a Tribunal erected, that these Men, so long ago proscribed by the People, should have been brought forth, and being sentenced according to their Deserts, should have received the just Retaliations of their Crimes, and where having been, upon a full Audience before the Judges, condemn'd of the many *Plunderings of the Common-wealth*, they might have been deliver'd over to the Lictors, to have been put to Death: Silence then, there is nothing of this done, will not our Posterity say, that certainly these Men were just Men, and there was no clear proof of the Crimes, which were laid to their Charge; for that no Guilty Men could be imagined to escape, where there appeared so much willingness to punish.

There are some to be found among the *Plebeian* Tribes, who, notwithstanding the Senate have not brought these Old Ministers forth to Justice, are inclin'd to suppose

pose them Guilty. But on the other Hand, they say, the S-----s, who are of that Opinion likewise, and yet have not moved to have them brought to speedy Tryal, and condign Punishment, have been false to their great Trust, and Duty of their Office, as S-----s; that they have betrayed their dear Country, and in letting Justice go unsatisfied, and the Persons unpunished, who they themselves have accused of Crimes against the Common-wealth, and of that worst Sort of Crime, (*viz.*) embezzelling the publick Treasure; these, as they are loudest in their Complaints; so indeed they have most semblance of Justice, for that nothing can be a greater Breach of Trust in a S-----r or great Officer of the S---e, than that he should let those People go unpunished, who are Enemies to your Country, and who having betray'd their Trust, deceived the People, and enriched themselves out of the Publick, have brought so many Evils upon the Nation; and what is this, *say they*, but telling us, that every publick Trust shall be betray'd, and that every Officer that comes to lay his Hands on the publick Monies, shall be suffered to embezel the same with Impunity; and what is this, *say the same Men*, but to signify that the People are to be still *plundered*, that it is no Crime, that the great Men have

a Right to Pele, and Rob, and Commit a continued Spoil upon the Poor People, out of whose Labour, and out of whose Sufenance, the publick Monies are raised, and by whose Blood the Foreign Wars are carried on, and the Enemy kept off from the Gates of their City.

The People who were of this Opinion, proved as much disaffected to the New M-----s of the publick Affairs, as any before them, in as much as they cryed loud for Justice, that the Common-wealth was betray'd, and went so far in their Cries, as to say,

That it was Evident, from their own Mouths, that the Nation had been *Plundered*; that inasmuch as some People had embezelled the publick Monies, that the Duty of the publick Ministers had been negligently performed, and the Commons had been abused, the Government had been evilly administred, and Thieves and Traytors were among them, Things evident from their own R E P. that publick Justice was what the People had *a Claim of Right* to the Administration of, and that it must be done some where or other, that since the Persons accused were not brought forth to the Tribunal, be like the Charge was unjust, and they had brought a false Accusation,
in

in which Case they ought to remember, that *M. Manlius* was cast headlong down the *Tarpeian* Rock, for slandering the Nobility, and was put to Death, notwithstanding his former extraordinary Services for the *Romans*, even in that same Spot, where he had exposed his Body to the Fury of the *Gauls*, and defended the Capitol, which was even upon the Point of being entered by the *Barbarians*.

These People argue very hotly, that if the Accusation be true, Justice requires, that the Offenders be brought out to the People, that they may be made Examples, to the Terror of others; that the Common-wealth cannot be restored to its pristine Security, while such Men are remaining among them, to build Sumptuous Palaces, even in the Streets of *Rome*, and in View of the Temple of *Jupiter* himself, whose Walls are raised with the Spoils of the Citizens, not the *Trophies* of the *Barbarians*, and whose rich furniture and glittering Battlements are enrich'd, not with the Spoils of the *Goths* and the *Gauls*, but with the Plunder of their own Country. On the contrary, they say, that neither can their Country be safe, while Men that can in this Manner falsely accuse the Faithful Nobility, shall be suffered in such Manner, with Impunity to go on. That they shall bury,

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as

as it were alive, the just Servants of the Common-wealth, with Ignominy and Reproach, when they cannot prove their Accusation, or bring forth sufficient Witnesses to condemn them; that therefore in Justice to the Common-wealth, the Accusers ought to be placed in the Room of the accused, not in their Honours and Preferments, but in the Bands, Prisons, and even in the same Punishments they had determined to inflict upon them: That Justice being done, the Gods may be appeased, and the Tumults and Seditions among the People may be effectually prevented, the publick Discontents removed, and every Crime receive its just Punishment in the Person, who is really Guilty.

This way of demanding Justice went a great way with some People, and raised a new Commotion amongst them against the *Reps.* as if they had deserved the same Punishment, that was due to *the Plunderers of the Nation*; because having gone this length in accusing others, they had not made that Accusation good, and brought forth the Persons to Trial, in order to have Justice executed upon them, as was meet.

Howbeit, these People rather bent their Cries at the defect of Justice in the Common-wealth, than at the Injury done to the Old Ministers of State, who were thus loaded

loaded with Slanderous Accusations ; it seemed all one to them, where the Fault was laid, sobeit the publick Justice was vindicated, and the Exercise of it, according to the Ancient Laws, was revived.

But others there were, who said, it was absolutely necessary, that these Things should be search'd to the Bottom, and that for several other Reasons they said, that the Support of the Government depended upon the due Administration of Things ; that as no evil Councillors were to be indemnified ; no wast of the publick Treasure to be allowed, no Treachery in the great Trusts of the Common-wealth to go unpunished ; especially when apparent and notorious, as has been in this Case alleged. So no Pretences of those Crimes were to be allowed upon the Innocent, nor was it to be born with, that it should be in the Power of any Men to MISREPRESENT to the People, the Actions and Behaviour of such, who were cloath'd with the publick Authority, and that had the Trust of the publick Treasure, and to endeavour to have them accounted as Guilty Persons, and to expose them at all times, to the Fury of the People as such, without being able to make good the Charge, and Convict them of the same, in the ordinary Forms of Justice ; that those

who took this way with them, were more Guilty, than those they accused were, all thought all they charged them with, could be proved: Wherefore they demanded, that these Accusers should be called upon, to make good their Accusation, and that the Cause of the Old Ministers being brought to be heard before the Judges, if it could not be made apparent, that they were Guilty, the Accusers ought to receive the like Punishment, which they pretended to inflict upon the accused; and those ought to be publicly assoyled before the People, and their Reputation thereby restored, whether they should think fit to restore them to their Offices and Employments or not.

A Third Party came in upon the Back of these Two, and they went yet farther; they said, that the Affairs of the Government were made a meer S---e-P---y, that the New Management of publick Matters was turn'd to Day into C---dy, to Morrow into T---dy, as seemed good unto the Actors; that when they thought fit for their other Purposes, the People were told, they were *plundered*, that the great Officers ought to be severely handled, that they should be brought to Justice, and be had directly to the Tribunal, where their Mismanagement of the Treasure, and other exorbitant Crimes against the State being
clearly

clearly proved, the People should see Justice done upon them, according to their Deserts. Soon after, when this Part had been acted as long upon the Stage, as was for their turn, they turn their Tale; and although they continue to heap up long Accusations, and to blacken the Management of the said Men, as if they were not worthy to live; yet they on a suddain drop any more Discourse of Justice and the Tribunal, and turn it into a long Oration of the S-----s enumerating the Crimes, and dwelling upon the fatal Consequences of them to the Common-wealth; how they have been the Cause of the excessive Debts of the State, and of the stop put to their usual Successes; how they have loaded the Nation with heavy Taxes, and Burthens intolerable to be born; how they have entailed perpetual Debts upon Posterity, and sold the People to Usury and Extortion; how they seem'd to perpetuate the War, and let the People see no End of their Miseriy. But that turning these material Things into a meer Accusation, they let fall all the Discourses of the legal Proceedings against the Persons accused, but making sport with the People, left them as it were mocked with the mighty Arts, used to aggravate and illustrate the Offences, but not a Word of punishing the
Of

Offenders. This they said was putting a Jest upon the People, who could not be satisfied to hear of the wicked Steps, which had been taken to impoverish and plunder them, without enquiring what Punishment ought to be inflicted on those wicked Persons, from whom they had received so much Injury ; and that when they seemed naturally to run into the Enquiry after Persons, they found themselves in a Wood, the Accusation leaving them perfectly in a Labyrinth, rather to Guess at who they were, than to see them brought in Bands to the Tribunal : Nothing was more reasonable to be expected, than that the People who are led by natural Consequences in such Things, should forthwith conclude, that these Men were Innocent of the Crimes, whereof they were accused, and that there was some other Mystery in the Charge, with which they had not been acquainted, when lo upon a Day, when a great Multitude were assembled together, to enquire into this Matter, a certain ancient Father stood up in the midst of the People, and made the following Oration to them ; which you may be sure had an effect upon the Minds of the Multitude.

Why Marvel you, O Citizens ! and Fathers, at this Matter, as if some strange Thing was befallen you, when you find in the

REP.

REP. of the S-----e, and in the Popular Orations of the Pleaders, that your faithful Citizens are blackened with suggested Crimes, which when you have been induced to believe, and to conceive a just Indignation against the Persons, you have been calling upon the Magistrates to bring them to the Tribunal, that being condemned of the said Crimes they might receive the just Reward of their Wickedness. But that now you find no Persons laying the Charge to them, in Order to Condemnation, whence comes it to pass, that ye should continue thus blinded in your Understandings, wat you not that those Men have their own private Designs to bring to pass, and that having brought those Designs about by your Means, you are no more the Subject of their Regard, nor is the Preservation of the Peoples Privileges, or the Safety of the publick Treasure, which are the Pretences of this Charge, any part of the true Design of these Men; but the carrying on their Secret Business, which they have in their View, and which being secured, you may perchance hear no more of the Mismanagement of the publick Affairs, and Misapplication of the publick Treasure, till you hear it from more righteous Hands, accusing these Accusers of the same Crimes, which now they are seeking your Favour, by charging upon others.

‘ There was (says the Old Man) a Season
 ‘ when in the Common-wealth of the
 ‘ Brutes;

‘ *Brutes* ; The *Horses* were accused to the
 ‘ *Lion* of having mismanaged and misbe-
 ‘ haved in the publick Trusts, which the
 ‘ *Lion*, their Sovereign, had with Consent
 ‘ of the common *Bruits*, committed to
 ‘ them. The Accusers of the *Horses*, were
 ‘ a certain Race of *Brutes*, derived by a
 ‘ mixt Generation, partly from the *Wolves*,
 ‘ and partly from the *Foxes*, and were
 ‘ by degenerating from their kind, called
 ‘ *Blood-Hounds*. These pretended to have
 ‘ most exquisite Noses, that could follow
 ‘ *Guile* at a great Distance ; could smell
 ‘ out *Knavery*, even before it was conceiv-
 ‘ ed ; and having also greater Sagacity than
 ‘ the rest of their Kind, they proposed such
 ‘ fine, tho’ unpracticable Schemes of Go-
 ‘ vernment to the great *Lion*, their King,
 ‘ that they prevailed upon him, without
 ‘ giving the *Horses* a Hearing, to dismiss
 ‘ them all from the Publick Employments,
 ‘ with which they were before entrusted
 ‘ in the Government.

‘ The *Common Brutes* at first wondered,
 ‘ what should be the Reason of this Change,
 ‘ knowing how long, and how happily the
 ‘ *Lion* had governed, and how the Na-
 ‘ tion had prospered under the just Admi-
 ‘ nistration of the *Horses* : but hearing
 ‘ daily strange Reports, and publick
 ‘ REPS. of the Guilt of the *Horses* ; how
 ‘ that

‘ that they had *neglected* Affairs, *imbezelled*
 ‘ the publick Treasure, and abused the
 ‘ Confidence the *Lion* had reposed in them,
 ‘ and besides all this, finding the *Lion* (in
 ‘ whose Wisdom and Justice the whole
 ‘ Nation of Beasts had an entire confidence,
 ‘ and for whom they bore an extraordinary
 ‘ Affection and Duty, (had entertain’d
 ‘ the Accusation *as true*, and had dismissed
 ‘ the *Horses* from his Council and Presence,
 ‘ tho’ they had a great Love also
 ‘ for the *Horses*; yet they acquiesced in
 ‘ their disgrace, and began to resent very
 ‘ much their Behaviour to the *Lion*, and
 ‘ expected every Day to have them brought
 ‘ to Judgment in their great Tribunal. But
 ‘ in Process of Time finding the *Blood-*
 ‘ *Hounds* did not pursue their Charge,
 ‘ and that being gotten into the *Horses*
 ‘ Places, they contented themselves to sit
 ‘ still, and neither do the *Lion* or his Sub-
 ‘ jects Justice in punishing the *Horses*, as
 ‘ was expected; they unanimously addressed
 ‘ the *Lion* to bring the *Horses*, and their Ac-
 ‘ cusers before him, admitting all the other
 ‘ Beasts his Subjects to be present, and to
 ‘ give them a fair and a full hearing before
 ‘ his Majesty, and that then he might give
 ‘ Sentence Impartially, as Truth and Ju-
 ‘ stice should require, the accusers and ac-
 ‘ cused being brought face to face.

‘ This was so equal a Request, that the
 ‘ *Lion*, who was a most just Prince, could
 ‘ not refuse ; and albeit, he was something
 ‘ pleased with his New Officers of State, the
 ‘ *Blood-Hounds* ; yet had he not cast off all
 ‘ respect for his Old Servants the *Horses* ;
 ‘ but all having an entire Love, and a
 ‘ great Zeal for publick Justice, he resolved
 ‘ to give them all a full and fair hearing
 ‘ before him, and before his People, and
 ‘ that then he would Judge, as he should
 ‘ see Cause.

‘ Accordingly, the Day of Hearing being
 ‘ come, which also the *Blood-Hounds* would
 ‘ have evited, and when every thing came
 ‘ to be examined to the Bottom openly and
 ‘ impartially, the *Blood-Hounds* made out
 ‘ their Charge so ill, the Proof of the
 ‘ mighty Crimes they had alledged was
 ‘ so slender, and they managed their Ac-
 ‘ cusation so weakly, that gave not to the
 ‘ *Lion* all the Satisfaction he expected :
 ‘ When they came to the Particulars of
 ‘ *plundering the Nation*, and embezzelling
 ‘ the publick Treasure, they could make
 ‘ out nothing of all the Black Charge they
 ‘ had brought ; they could not prove that the
 ‘ *Horses* had kept back any of the publick
 ‘ Monies, or applied any part thereof to their
 ‘ own private Uses ; they could not prove
 ‘ any Error in their Accounts, or bring
 ‘ any

‘ any Witnesses to the several Articles of
 ‘ their Charge; but all was made up of
 ‘ constructive Crimes, Suggestions, strained
 ‘ Punctilio’s, and trifling Circumstances;
 ‘ whereof, when they came to enter into
 ‘ the Particulars, they began themselves to
 ‘ be ashamed, knowing full well, that if they
 ‘ continued long in the publick Admini-
 ‘ stration of Affairs under the *Lion*, they
 ‘ must unavoidably do the very same
 ‘ Things, which they were now laying as
 ‘ Crimes to the Charge of the *Horses*.
 ‘ Nor did it a little Contribute, to turn
 ‘ the *Lion* against them, when he found
 ‘ they brought several Things into the
 ‘ Charge against the said *Horses*, which
 ‘ were not only done sincerely and faithfully
 ‘ for his Majesties Service, but which were
 ‘ also done by his Majesties own Direction,
 ‘ and purely of his own Contrivance and
 ‘ Invention; and which, as matters then pre-
 ‘ sented, were really done with a true and
 ‘ honest Design, for the good of his Sub-
 ‘ jects, and the Safety of his Realms.

‘ If this part was thus managed to the
 ‘ Advantage of the *Horses*, much more
 ‘ was it so, when the said *Horses* came to
 ‘ make their Defence, and to be heard be-
 ‘ fore their Sovereign; they soon undeceiv-
 ‘ ed his Majesty in the matter objected to
 ‘ them, they pleaded with such Readiness and

‘ Clearness to every Head of their Charge,
 ‘ that they moved the whole. Now they
 ‘ turn’d to their Sovereign, and appealed
 ‘ to his Majesty’s own Knowledge, how
 ‘ in this, and in that, they had pursued the
 ‘ very Steps which his Majesty’s own Judg-
 ‘ ment concurred in to be the best and
 ‘ most proper for his Service, and for his
 ‘ Peoples Advantage : Then they turned
 ‘ to the Honest *Brutes*, that stood round
 ‘ them, and shewed them at large, how all
 ‘ the Misapplications of the publick Treasure
 ‘ with which they were charged, were no-
 ‘ thing but the needful Variations of their Af-
 ‘ fairs, according to the Circumstances of the
 ‘ War abroad, and other Accidents at Home,
 ‘ which might oblige them to turn to this
 ‘ Part, or to that, to apply Remedies to the
 ‘ Distempers of the body Politick ; which
 ‘ if they should have omitted, the Enemy
 ‘ might have broken in, and have over-
 ‘ turned the Common-wealth, that it was
 ‘ impossible for them, who were Mortal
 ‘ *Horses*, to foresee all Events which might
 ‘ happen in the Common-wealth, that
 ‘ when the *Wolves* and *Tygers* of *Gaul*, or
 ‘ of *Hissania* were breaking into their
 ‘ Country, and had unexpectedly over-
 ‘ thrown the Troops his Majesty had sent
 ‘ against them, and were actually on
 ‘ one side over-running the Remainder, and
 ‘ ruining

‘ ruining their faithful *Lusitanian* Confe-
 ‘ derate *Brutes* ; and on the other side,
 ‘ were preparing to invade his Majesties
 ‘ faithful Subjects, the *Caledonian Brutes*,
 ‘ they had not been worthy the Name of
 ‘ true-born *Horses*, had they not em-
 ‘ ployed the publick Treasure then in
 ‘ their Hands, to defending their *Fellow-*
 ‘ *Beasts*, and in beating off the Enemy,
 ‘ tho’ that Treasure had been appointed
 ‘ for other Uses.

‘ They shewed them that the Uses
 ‘ for which the Treasure was levyed a-
 ‘ mong the whole Nation, and of which
 ‘ every *Beast* had brought in his share, was
 ‘ but a general Grant of so many Talents,
 ‘ for the carrying on the War against the
 ‘ said *Tygers* and *Wolves* of *Gaul*, and of
 ‘ *Hispania* ; and albeit, some Parts were
 ‘ appointed for the War here, and the
 ‘ War there ; yet it did not follow, that if
 ‘ the said *Tygers* and *Wolves* attempted to
 ‘ break in upon his Majesties Dominions
 ‘ in any one part, which was not foreseen,
 ‘ and therefore not provided against, that
 ‘ therefore they must not resist them, and
 ‘ preserve the Common-wealth from Ruine
 ‘ and Destruction. They made a most
 ‘ moving Protestation, that they had not
 ‘ employed any part of the aforesaid pub-
 ‘ lick Treasure to their own private Gain
 ‘ and

‘ and Advantage, either for themselves, or
 ‘ the Mares and Colts, their Wives and
 ‘ Children; and they challeng’d all the
 ‘ *Blood-Hounds*, their Accusers, to leave off
 ‘ these little Advantages, of Niceties and
 ‘ Circumstances, where the publick Ser-
 ‘ vice was in the Main pursued, and come
 ‘ to the Point with them, to prove if
 ‘ they were able, where and when they
 ‘ had fattened themselves in the State Pa-
 ‘ stures, or fed exorbitantly upon the pub-
 ‘ lick Stores of Oats or Hay, when they
 ‘ had taken more Forage than their Or-
 ‘ dinary Allowance, or given out any of the
 ‘ publick Magazine to any of their Kin.

‘ Upon this Challenge, it was impati-
 ‘ ently expected, that the Accusers would
 ‘ come forth again, and endeavour to prove
 ‘ their Accusation; but they having no-
 ‘ thing to say that was positive, or any
 ‘ proof to bring; the *Common Brutes* set up
 ‘ a great Shout, being over-joyed at the In-
 ‘ nocence of the *Horses*. The *Lion* also
 ‘ pronounced them clear of all the Charge,
 ‘ and received them into his Favour again,
 ‘ banishing the *Blood-Hounds* from his Pre-
 ‘ sence and Councils for ever, who were
 ‘ glad to get away, for they began to be
 ‘ afraid they should have been kick’d at
 ‘ by their fellow Subjects the *Brutes*, who
 ‘ seeing their whole Conduct in this Af-
 ‘ fair,

' fair, had only been by flandering the
 ' loyal *Horses*, to get them turn'd out,
 ' that they might be entertain'd in their
 ' Steads, began to conceive very great In-
 ' digation against them. But the *Blood-*
 ' *Hounds* foreseeing the Consequence,
 ' sneak'd away, and being a subtil Race, al-
 ' ways hunting after Mischief, they fell with
 ' some other Scent, and pursued their Game
 ' another way, the Consequences where-
 ' of *Histories* tell us was, their final Ruine ;
 ' so that they are now entirely left out of
 ' Use in that Country, neither will any of
 ' their *Fellow-Beasts* keep Company with
 ' them.

' It was also observable, that the Great
 ' *Huntsman*, who before entertain'd these
 ' *Hounds*, and who proposed to have em-
 ' ployed them according to their true
 ' Use, and the Advantage of their Nature,
 ' abandon'd them before they went this
 ' length for his Design, being clearly, as
 ' was that of his Sovereign the great
 ' *Lion*, only to rectifie some few mi-
 ' stakes, and bring Things to a Reconci-
 ' liation of Parties, and a rectitude of
 ' Management ; when he saw these Crea-
 ' tures run upon a hot Scent after Blood,
 ' aiming to put the whole Kingdom of the
 ' *Brutes* into Confusion, he left them to
 ' pursue their own desperate Game of
 ' Death,

‘ Death, and stood unconcerned at their
 ‘ Fall.

The People who listen’d to the Voice of this Ancient Father, with wonderful Attention ; yet frequently interrupted him with Shouts and Applause, shewing their Approbation of his Discourse ; but still the Orator beckoning with his Hand for silence, went on, till having finished his Oration as abovesaid, he sat down, and conveying himself into the Throng and Press of the People, he disappeared among the Multitude, and was never discovered so far, as to know who he was ; nevertheless, the People shewed they understood what he said to be Prophetick, and therefore every one departed unto his House, fully persuaded, that the like would come to pass in the Case before them.

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